1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

575 The *desa* members, the core villagers, are further distinguished according to the length of their membership. The most recent *desa* members are called *pĕngluduhan*, 'those who are charged'. They sit at the lower end in the *bale agung*. The next group consists of twelve *tambĕlapus*. Then come twelve *bahans*, of which the six eldest are the *klihans bahan*, the *desa* officials in charge of day-to-day affairs who meet every evening in the *bale agung* and hence are also called *klihans desa*. The following group is that of the *klihans luanan*, or *uluanan*, 'those sitting above'. There should be six such dignitaries, including the *subak* (the *de ngijĕng*), but since that post is vacant there are only five. These *klihans* are also called *kĕbayans desa*. There is a still older group, the *klihans gumi*, but they are no longer *desa* members. This group consists of the six oldest persons (counting from the beginning of their *desa* membership) in the village who had to leave the association because of the marriage of a child when they were of *bahan* rank or higher, and whose wives are still alive.

55 575 [587] If a person loses his *desa* membership because of the death of his wife he can only become a member again by marrying a girl who has not yet been married. In that case he regains his earlier place, and if that has moved forward in the *bale agung* he obtains a higher place, so that it sometimes happens that he skips over some ranks. However, it may be the case that when he regains his membership the number of places in the rank he should occupy are all filled, and in that case he has to wait for a vacancy.

561 562 769 This whole division of the population according to age and marital status corresponds to a division of the graveyards, which, as was pointed out, consist of an eastern and a western group, each of which is subdivided in a burial ground for children who have not yet lost their milk teeth, one for older children, and one for adults.

86 626 This structure of the population is of importance in two respects. There is perhaps no other *desa* on Bali where the individual is so much fitted into the village service from the cradle to the grave as in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. There are countless imperative and

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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Chapter Four

ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, AND LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

I

Administrative Affairs

621 623 Every inhabitant of Tĕnganan who is not excluded from membership becomes a member of the *desa*, a *kĕrama desa* or *wong desa*, on marrying a girl or a young man of the *desa*. It is compulsory to inform the *desa* of the marriage. A man who [587] marries a widow from the *desa* or a woman from another *desa*, whether or not the latter has been married before, does not become a *desa* member. A new member becomes one of the *pĕngluduhans*, the *desa* members without a rank. Both husband and wife become members as a result of their marriage, and each has his own task to fulfil, though the only *desa* meeting in which the women participate is the one at which plans are discussed for the major *usaba* or purification ceremony in Kalima. At that meeting they sit on the left (west) side of the *bale*. It goes without saying that the women members of the *desa*, like the men, may not be physically deformed.

623 626 *Desa* membership is always terminated for husband and wife at the same time. Reasons for the termination may be the marriage of one of the couple's children, a second marriage on the part of the husband, the death of one of the couple, or a transgression of the *desa adat* by either the husband or the wife. If, for instance, a woman who is a *desa* member takes to carrying on trade or enters the *bale agung* while she is with child, or if a man fails to appear at the *desa* meeting in appropriate meeting dress (though a *pĕngluduhan* may fail to comply with the regulation twice), goes outside his *banjar* without being clad in *adat* dress and wearing his creese, passes the night outside the *desa* territory without permission from

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members.

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records.

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one.

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership.

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even pedandas, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the swarga, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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perform in the systematic village magic: the care of divine heir- 184
looms too dangerous for less pure people to handle. Conse- 882
quently, in the strict communities of the Bali Aga, sexual licence 836
on the part of a boy or girl is a crime against the village magic [684]
and is proportionately punished.

This is not the case, however, among the ordinary Balinese 836
villages, where boys and girls lead a freer sexual life. There mat-
ters of sex are not solemn, mysterious prohibitions, and it is nat-
ural that in coming of age they should continue to have sexual
relations that started in the character of play, incompletely of
course, during childhood.

The average Balinese does not attach great importance to [587]
virginity and it is not difficult for a divorcee, a widow, or even
a woman who has committed adultery to marry again. Low-
caste girls have many occasions to meet boys and often carry on
affairs, kept secret because of natural shyness. The Balinese are 584
extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never 834
seen together in public, and it would be unpardonable manners
for a man to make insinuations to a girl in public. It is not un- [832]
usual for girls to take the lead and "make eyes" (*saling sulang*)
at boys, or give encouragement to a shy suitor with some sort of
small present.

Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and their chances of 564
meeting boys are considerably fewer. For the princes, whose 584
mentality is more "Oriental" than that of the less prejudiced
average Balinese, a virgin (*gentan*, in the absolute sense of the [581]
word) is highly desirable. Where feudalism still holds sway, a
prince may order a subject of his to reserve his pretty daughter
for him when she comes of age, and there are cases of Satrias and
Brahmanas who kidnapped a girl of their own caste immediately
after the first menstruation. Such cases are shocking to most
Balinese, however, and there are rules and penalties against pre-
mature marriages. In general, the average marriageable age is [582]
eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. A noble Balinese friend 826
once told me that he could tell a virgin at first sight from the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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although he may try to bring her back by force. In any case she has to return the money dowry. 586

The divorce is performed by the village authorities (in whose judgment the case rests) by slight ceremonies, the most important of which is the breaking of a "yellow" *kepeng* (*pipis kuning*) by the husband and wife, to represent, perhaps, the breaking of the magic circle (completeness) of marriage.

Outside of caste and incest[9] taboos, there are no great marriage restrictions in Bali and there seems to be no objection to marriage with cousins, divorcees, a woman thrown out by her husband, and even with widows, against whom there was once revulsion on the part of the nobility, due to the now defunct institution of *mesatia* (suttee), by which the widows of a prince had to follow their dead master into the spirit world. A widow may marry when and whom she pleases as long as she has the permission of her family, her relatives-in-law, and her son, or of her own relatives if she has returned to her ancestral home. Marriage of a Balinese woman with foreigners — people of another race or religion — is permitted, although by the marriage the woman loses the right to be called a Balinese — again an emphasis on the importance of ancestral relations. 587 582 [835] [762]

[9] There is first- and second-degree incest. It is first-degree incest for a man to have relations with his mother, sister, half-sister, or the mother of his half-brother or sister. Second-degree incest is relations with aunts or with his father's or mother's cousins. Jane Belo: "A Study of a Balinese Family." *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935),1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language. But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with
584 her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordā, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
[602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[451 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water suppiy, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa; descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
● [587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheritance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted, went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Madura OE6 Java OE1
Minangkabau, OD10 Batak OD5
Bali OF7
Ngadju OC9

C. THE CARE OF ORPHANS

In regions having a bilateral system of kinship, when one of the parents dies or is missing, while there are still small children in the family, the remaining parent continues to carry on with parental authority. It may be, however, that when the father is an outsider the children are left to the family group of the deceased, as is the case with the Ngaju Dyaks. If both parents die, in a bilateral region the duty of caring for the orphans falls upon whichever of the groups of relatives is in the best position to care for them. The location of the family residence during the children's lifetime is naturally of great importance in influencing the course of action in this situation. The nature of the marriage payments, which had been made by the parents, may also be an influential factor, as in some Dyak tribes of Borneo.

Older children decide for themselves to which group they shall adhere, according to personal preference. In any concrete situation, the operation of choice between the principles of next-of-kin and who-is-best-situated-for-the-job is a family group matter. If difficulties interpose, or no one is available, or the available persons are unsuitable, in Java and Madura the Native Superior Court can appoint a guardian.[2]

Among people with unilateral organization, if the parent who gives descent to the children survives (i.e., the mother among the Minangkabau, or the father among the Bataks, Lampongs, or in Bali), he or she alone among the relatives continues to exercise parental authority. But if the other parent survives (the one from whom descent is not reckoned), noticeable tension between the family and the clan group arises. In Minangkabau the children stay under control of the kin group of their dead mother. But their father will participate in their well-being as much as the actual circumstances permit. Among the Bataks and in Bali, the widow stays on to rear the children in the midst of her husband's relatives, either as a widow or remarried to her deceased husband's younger brother under the levirate. However, if she wishes to return to her own kin or to marry someone else, she may leave her husband's group, but the children stay under the control of their paternal relatives.

In situations where migration, or other circumstances, have led to a stronger small family life than was formerly the case, this

[2] Chapter II, Ordinance of January 31, 1931, Staatsblad, 1931, No. 53.

not the only motive. Families already having children may adopt a nephew to get another worker, or out of the hope that the act of adoption will cause children to be born later on. It may also be out of pity for a little orphan boy. Recognition by the village chiefs seldom figures in this type of adoption[1] in Java and South Celebes, but in other places lineage heads and people's chiefs are occasionally called into the transaction. In the Pasemah the adoption is made "terang" in the presence of the entire "dusun" population—the "laman dusun."

It is true that in Java the adoption of non-relatives does occur, but the adoption of nephews is over-whelmingly more frequent. It has a solidifying effect on the extended family bond. The adopted child is treated so completely as one's own that the fact of adoption is not mentioned after the act is completed. But in this case, the child does continue to retain an inheritance claim in the property of its real parents. It also has a claim on the property of its foster parents, but probably not to the inheritable property which must revert to the husband's or wife's own family. (See p. 207.) This comes about just because this type of adoption is not an extended family matter, and because the act was not made "terang." In South Celebes division of property does exist, but there does not seem to be any claim on behalf of an adopted child as an heir *ab intestato*.

Finally, there is the unique adoption rule that permits a childless man to adopt his step-children (i.e., the children of a second wife), but only when the actual father of these children is dead. Among the Rejang this is the "mulang jurai," while among the Maänyan-Siung Dyaks, it is called "ngukup anaq."

Among the Lampongs, to raise the son of a secondary wife to the status of son of the number one wife, changes the legal position of the boy, and gives him claims to succession to the dignities of his father. In Bali if the secondary wife has her own sacrificial place, her son can be transferred only by means of the full adoption ceremony mentioned above.

In patrilineal regions, the adopted child is ordinarily a boy, unless someone adopts a girl in order to make sure that a boy can conclude the preferred cross-cousin marriage, as is the practice in the Kei Islands. The adoption of a girl into the patrilineal sub-clan (kabisu), in order to make marriage with a boy of some other sub-clan possible, takes place in Sumba. In like manner, when the Batik sacerdotal prince, the Si Singamangaraja, wants to marry a

1 [i.e., adoption of nephews -- Analyst]